

APPEAL

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TO THE

PEOPLE OF MAINE.

BY A CITIZEN.

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"That must needs be judged to be an hard and unjust law, which tends to increase the servitude, and to lessen the liberty of mankind."—SIR JOHN FORTESCUE.

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AUGUST 1, 1855.

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# APPEAL

TO THE

## PEOPLE OF MAINE.

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FELLOW CITIZENS:

I ASK your attention, for a brief time, to a question of great moment. I ask it not merely as a partisan. I have in it only a common interest with you.

Nor will I trouble you with an account of former struggles, except so far as they live, and are involved in the present. However great the issues, or however important the crises through which we have passed, they do not so much concern us. What is our condition, and what is our duty, *to-day?*—are questions of more earnest import;—for yesterday is gone,—and to-morrow cometh yet.

The prosperity of our country for the past half century has been unequalled among the nations of men. In all that contributes to national power and wealth, our progress has been the wonder of the world. But in nothing has this been so strikingly manifest as in the acquisition of territory. One of the ablest writers of modern times has expressed the opinion that extensive territory is dangerous to a Republic. So thought many of our early statesmen. But no Republic that is true to itself can avoid a constant growth by accretion. In the midst of surrounding despotisms, whatever government has the will and the power to afford protection from tyranny, will be spreading out its arms. To expand will be "manifest destiny." And so, despite all fears, it has been with us.

According to an estimate of Col. Abert, chief of the Topographical Bureau, at Washington, our country now comprises an area of almost three million square miles;—and Mr. Kennedy, in his census report, estimates it as *more* than three millions. Almost three-fifths of this have been acquired since the commencement of the present century. By the purchase of Louisiana and Florida, by the annexation of Texas, and the con-

quest of New Mexico and California, nearly 1,800,000 square miles were added to our territory within a period of a little more than forty years. The annals of history furnish nothing that can compare with this. Not like the barren conquests of Alexander, or Cæsar, or Napoleon,—these new territories are not excrescences,—they are symmetrical portions of our system of States, expanding in greatness, number, and power, and destined,—if we will be true to the principle that gave us birth, and has stimulated our rapid advancement,—to lead the way in the grand march of the ages, along the pathway of civilization and freedom.

But we find that two kinds of institutions,—as unlike each other as darkness and light, between which, in the nature of things, there can be no peace,—are already established in our land. Like the fabulous Powers that struggled to control the destiny of the infant Hercules, so have *Slavery* and *Freedom* struggled for the mastery over this nation. And in all our march of empire, the question has ever pressed upon us—*which of these shall be permitted to plant itself, and bring forth its fruits in the new fields which Providence has opened before us?* Thus stands this great question now,—unsettled, undiminished,—boundless as the prairies of the far West, with the distant, unapproachable horizon shutting down upon it on every side. Freedom, or Slavery! Which shall rule? I know how the people of Maine would answer in word. How they will answer at the ballot-box, I know not so well—though I will not doubt or fear.

But first let me ask you to look upon a picture of what these diverse systems would each do for our immense territories, if once planted in the soil. And lest any penciling of mine should seem to be colored with a Northern tinge, I will offer one instead drawn by Hon. W. C. Preston, of South Carolina, who represented that State in the U. S. Senate for twelve years, closing in 1843:

### FREEDOM.

“No Southern man can journey,—as I have lately done,—through the Northern States, and witness the prosperity, the industry, the public spirit which they exhibit—the sedulous cultivation of all those arts by which life is rendered comfortable and respectable—without feelings of deep sadness and shame, as he remembers his own neglected and desolate home. There, no dwelling is to be seen abandoned, no farm uncultivated. Every person, and every thing, performs a part toward the grand result, and the whole land is covered with fertile fields, with manufactories, and canals, and railroads and edifices, and towns, and cities. Their energy and enterprise are directed to all objects, great and small, within their reach. At the fall of a scanty rivulet they set up their little manufactory of wooden buttons or combs—they plant a barren hill-side with broom corn, and make it into brooms at the bottom—and on its top they erect a wind-mill. Thus at a single spot you may see the air, the earth, and the water, all working for them. But at the same time the ocean is whitened to its extremities with the sails of their ships, and the land is covered with their works of art and usefulness.

“All this is done, in a region with a bleak climate and sterile soil, by the energy and intelligence of the people. Every man knows that the public good is his individual advantage. The number of railroads and other modes of expeditious intercommunication, knits the whole coun-

try into a closely compacted mass, through which the productions of commerce and of the press, the comforts of life and the means of knowledge, are universally diffused; while the close intercourse of travel and business makes all neighbors, and promotes a common interest and a common sympathy."

### SLAVERY.

"How different the condition of these things in the South! Here, the face of the country wears the aspect of premature old age and decay. No improvement is seen going on—nothing is done for posterity—no man thinks of any thing beyond the present moment. Our lands are yearly tasked to their utmost capacity of production, and when exhausted are abandoned for the youthful West. Because nature has been prodigal to us, we seem to think it unnecessary to do any thing for ourselves. The industry and skill that have converted the inclement and barren hills of New England into a garden, of the climate and fertile soil of the South would create almost a paradise. Our natural advantages are among the greatest with which Providence has blessed mankind, but we lack the spirit to improve and enjoy them. The rich ore is beneath our feet, yet we dig not for it. The golden fruit hangs from the bough, and we lift not our hands to gather it. The cask of delicious liquor is before our eyes, but we are too lazy even to broach it."

If we place a camera before the broad landscape, we shall find, condensed upon the little tablet within, a complete and perfect picture of all its varied scenery—the mountain peaks, the fertile valleys, the hill-sides, and the forests. So has this Southern statesman—all unconscious of it—daguerreotyped the North, and the South—of whatever latitude—not only of to-day, but of all coming time, until slavery shall cease to exist. As the ancient magicians caused the scenes of the Future to pass before the eyes of the beholder, while he looked through the mystic glass,—so we may here see, as if moving in actual life, what is to be in the territories over which we have extended our power. In one of these brief extracts—God grant it may be in the first—is pictured their condition after we shall have decided under what influences they are to be peopled. Shall they bloom and prosper under the life-giving impulses of Freedom? Or shall Slavery brood over them, with its wasting curse, until barrenness and desolation reign supreme? To the people of this country,—to the people of Maine,—God has submitted this question; and we must answer it;—or its answer, in His Providence, will be our doom!

And yet, for a portion of this territory, the answer has already been given. Louisiana, Florida, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas,—containing an area of more than five hundred thousand square miles—have been given up to slavery. The federal government no longer has any power to control their domestic policy, or give freedom to their inhabitants. A struggle was made in 1820, and again in 1845,—but the Slave Power triumphed. We then could have "secured to them the blessings of liberty;"—but we were blinded by party spirit; and now *it is too late*. Five of the Sibyl's leaves are gone! Let us beware that we refuse not the price she demands for those which remain!

In calling up this question, I have the right to assume that the people

of this State are on the side of Freedom. As early as 1839, during the administration of Gov. Fairfield, a committee of the Legislature, in a report on this subject, declared that there was "but one sentiment pervading the whole community ; all regard slavery as an evil, a lamentable evil, inflicting a deep wound upon our free institutions." Ten years later, this principle was reaffirmed. The following Resolution was reported in the Senate, by a joint committee of which Hon. Adams Treat was chairman, and was adopted by that body. It was copied, in substance, from the Message of Gov. Dana in 1847 :

*"Resolved*, That the sentiment of this State is profound, sincere, and almost universal, that the influence of slavery upon productive energy, is like the blight of mildew ; that it is debasing and degrading in its influence upon free labor ; that it is a moral and social evil ; that it does violence to the rights of man as a rational, thinking, accountable being. Influenced by these and other important considerations, *this State will firmly oppose the introduction of slavery into any territory* acquired as an indemnity for claims upon Mexico."

Nor had the infamous doctrine of "squatter sovereignty" then been proclaimed. Another Resolution of the same series was as follows :

*"Resolved*, That in the acquisition of any free territory, whether by treaty, purchase, conquest, or otherwise, we deem it *the duty of the general government to extend over the same the principles of the ordinance of 1787.*"

On the 28th of June, 1849, there was a State Convention of the Democratic party at Portland. It was the largest that had ever been held. Ex-Gov. Dunlap presided, and Hon. John Hubbard was nominated as the candidate for Governor. And the following Resolution was adopted with only one dissenting vote :

*"Resolved*, That the institution of human slavery is at variance with the theory of our government, abhorrent to the common sentiment of mankind, and fraught with danger to all who come within the sphere of its influence ; that the federal government *possesses adequate power to inhibit its existence in the territories of the Union* ; that the constitutionality of this power has been settled by judicial construction, by contemporaneous expositions, and by repeated acts of legislation ; and that we enjoin upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress to make every exertion and employ all their influence to procure the passage of a law *forever excluding slavery* from the territories of California and New Mexico."

Did not these Resolves express the sentiments of the people of Maine? I appeal to you ! Did you not mean what you said ? And however politicians may have apostatized from this faith,—will you not stand by these Resolves, and defend them, *and vote for those who are still true to them?*

In the struggle which was pending when the people of Maine thus took their position for Freedom, traitors enough were found in Congress to give the victory to the South. The Wilmot Proviso was defeated,—and Utah and New Mexico, containing an area of more than four hundred

thousand square miles—equal to fourteen States the size of Maine—were surrendered up to the curse of the slave system. I take the estimate from a speech of Hon. E. K. Smart; and I have his authority for saying that this action of Congress “opened these territories to slavery propaganda.”

To this outrage the North submitted. For the sake of peace, our people have always been willing to yield. It only remained for us to be convinced that all yielding would be of no avail. An able English writer—the biographer of the Revolutionary Heroes of 1640—truly says that “the struggle between two such principles as tyranny and freedom, once set on foot, admits of no compromise.” So have we found it. Every demand of the South to which we have yielded, has only opened the door for a greater. When was despotism ever satisfied while anything was withheld from its grasp? The purchase of Louisiana prepared the way for Florida,—and this for the annexation of Texas. After this, Utah and New Mexico came with little opposition. The repudiation of the Wilmot Proviso was speedily followed by a demand for that odious, and unconstitutional statute, called the Fugitive Slave Law.

And our tame acquiescence in this long series of exactions only encouraged the South to be more insulting and exorbitant in her demands,—until, at last, we were required to give up all the territory that was reserved to Freedom in the Missouri Compromise,—to trample the sacred compact in the dust, and open the fertile regions of the great North-West to the desolating march of slavery!

And to our shame be it said, some of our representatives in Congress—one from this State\*—were craven and corrupt enough to submit to this demand. President Pierce, a Northern man, in defiance of the public sentiment of the free States, and in open violation of his pledge to the country, given in his inaugural address, sustained this infamous measure, and secured its success. By his influence the South gained the victory. *By him* was Freedom—the freedom of the North—stricken down! And yet his parasites are sounding his praise to-day in the ears of the people! Those politicians who are striving to elect *Samuel Wells* for the next Governor of Maine, demand that *Franklin Pierce* shall be endorsed, and his administration commended, for its “maintenance of the land-marks of the Democratic party.”

The “land-marks of the Democratic party!” What greater *land-mark* was ever drawn across any part of any continent, since time began, than the Missouri Compromise line? What *boundary* more important

\* Moses McDonald and Samuel Wells are advertised as joint orators in the present political campaign. See notice for Convention at Gray.

than this, towards which the scourge of slavery was rolling,—but which it could not pass? For more than thirty years it stood, like the flaming sword at Eden's gate, to guard those territories from this terrible evil. At the bidding of the Slave Power, Franklin Pierce has broken it down! And now, after every Northern State has repudiated him for the foul deed,—after his own State has swept away every politician who followed him in his treason, the freemen of Maine are called upon to endorse his administration, and prepare the way for his re-election in 1856! So the party leaders who have nominated Judge Wells for Governor openly declare. Hon. E. K. Smart was a member of the Committee on Resolutions, and his paper thus interprets the action of the State Convention:

"In the Resolution passed by an overwhelming vote, factious men were told in significant terms that the noble son of New England 'WILL command the respect and SUPPORT of all true men.' If FRANKLIN PIERCE lives, he will have such support *in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six!* He is the standard bearer of the nation, the exponent of democratic principles, the 'ENDORSED' favorite of the democracy of Maine."

Democrats of Maine! Will you "endorse" the man who betrayed the North, and secured the repeal of the Missouri Compromise? Remember that a vote for *Samuel Wells* is equivalent to an endorsement of *Franklin Pierce*! I appeal to you not to forget the professions you have made. After condemning the Nebraska measure as you have done, do not be deluded into its support. *To be consistent* is a thousand times more important to you, and to your children, than any party success. Freedom—so long betrayed—will one day be victorious. Beware, lest, *if you are not true*, its triumph shall be your overthrow and disgrace!

I know that certain politicians are trying to conceal their treachery with the excuse that *nothing can be done*. They do not deny that Congress has power to restore the provisions of the Missouri Compromise. They do not question its authority to extend the protection of an ordinance like that of 1787 over all the territories. But because the President, and a majority of the Senate, are opposed to these measures, they pretend that all effort is useless. This is a humiliating confession of our degraded vassalage to the Slave Interest. But though the fact is as they allege, the inference which they draw from it, under which they attempt to hide, is utterly false. *The North is not without a remedy.* Already have the free States secured the control of the House of Representatives, without whose concurrence not one of these territories can become a State. We can hold them, therefore, in their territorial condition, until the Revolution that is sweeping over the North shall have reached the Senate, and the Executive. Then shall the policy which prevailed in the early days of the Republic be re-established, and in all our country, "however bounded," there shall in the future be "no slave territory, and no more slave states."

And hereafter when any territory shall ask for admission into the Union as a State, the prohibition of slavery can be incorporated into the act of Congress, so that the State itself cannot afterwards admit the system by any change in its constitution. Judge Story, in his Commentaries on the Constitution (3, 189,) declares that "Congress has the rightful authority to impose such a restriction." If, then, the Constitution confers upon our Congress the "rightful authority" to make *freedom* the fundamental, unchangeable law of all the new States, we have a right to demand that this authority shall be exercised. The right and the duty are one.

Such is the position of this great question. The area of all the territories belonging to the United States is very nearly 1,500,000 square miles. Admitting that Washington and Minnesota are safe without any prohibition, the amount still remaining is about 1,200,000 square miles. And even if Nebraska is secure from slavery extension,—which is very doubtful,\*—Utah, New Mexico, and Kansas contain more than 600,000 square miles,—*larger in extent than twenty States like Maine!* And into these territories slavery has already begun its march. *With them*, it is no longer a question of prohibition, merely,—but of *expulsion!* Utah and New Mexico have been seized, almost without resistance; and now the Slave Power is triumphant in Kansas. The territorial legislature is ready to do the bidding of Atchison and his ruffian crew! Shall slavery be permitted to hold this possession? I appeal to you, Democrats of Maine, to answer this question! Shall these territories, *ten times as large as all the New England States*, be abandoned to this fate without another struggle?

I know that some have hoped that Kansas might be saved by emigration from the North. The effort which has been made for this purpose is worthy of all praise,—but so far, it has failed of success. It may be better that it is so. No principle of national policy was involved in it. Its triumph might have encouraged the dangerous doctrine of "squatter sovereignty,"—and in no event, would it have saved Utah and New Mexico. Its defeat will throw the question of territorial freedom back upon Congress. Upon that body the Constitution has placed the responsibility. Let the battle be fought there; and then if freedom shall gain the vic-

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\* **SLAVERY IN NEBRASKA.**—The *Nebraska City News*, of a recent date, contains the following paragraph:

*Negroes for Sale at this Place.*—We call attention to the advertisement which appears in another column. A company of gentlemen fr. Missouri, who have large interests here, have imported them for the benefit of our young and growing city. Nebraska City is now about twice or three times larger than any other town in the territory. Help is much needed, and but little to be had; for this reason slave labor is required. We are authorized to state that the same company have twenty more in Missouri, which will be brought to Nebraska City if sufficient inducements are held out.

tory,—instead of being limited to one territory, leaving the others to the blight and mildew of slavery—it will be a victory *for all*. It will fix the policy of the federal government on the side of humanity. It will make the nation the guardian of liberty,—so that not only in the territories already acquired, but over whatever other regions the American eagle may hereafter spread his wings, it shall,—in truth, and not in mockery,—be called “the land of the free!”

The question now pending before the people of this country,—and especially at this time before the people of Maine,—is not one of doubt, or uncertainty. The only sure hope for freedom, either in Kansas or the other territories, is in the exercise, by Congress, of its constitutional powers, and the discharge of the solemn trust with which it is invested. And here the issue is now made up,—between the Republican party on the one side,—and a spurious, false, self-styled “democracy” on the other. The *latter*, under the dictation of Franklin Pierce, has abjured all constitutional right and duty relative to the territories, and permits them to be seized by the slaveholding oligarchy of the South, with shameful acquiescence, or with proffers of open aid. The *former* is rallying the Northern hosts for struggle and resistance before it shall be too late. So stand the parties in Maine. *Hunkerism*, in all its presses, “endorses” Franklin Pierce, approves or acquiesces in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and favors the admission of whatever slave States the South may demand. *Republicanism* proclaims its determination to secure the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, with its application to all the territories, and the admission of no more slave States. The Democrats of Maine are bound by repeated pledges to stand fast by these principles. Will not these pledges be redeemed?

The attempt to dodge this question,—to resolve, like the Hunker Convention, that we will “express no opinion” about it,—is as cowardly as it is wicked. Democrats of Maine! Have you “no opinion” upon these great questions? Remember that you cannot vote without “expressing” an opinion. Every ballot, as you drop it silently into the box, will speak,—whether you know it or not. You may resolve to express no opinion, but your *votes* will not be *dumb*. Their language will be never doubtful, nor uncertain. You may spend days or weeks in framing excuses, but your ballots will never utter one of them. When the polls are closed, and the votes are counted, the only voice that will then be heard will tell how many were found noble enough to stand true to freedom,—or debased enough to sacrifice it!

Freemen of Maine! *Are you willing to acquiesce in the great fraud by which the Missouri Compromise has been repealed?* If not, be careful how you vote. For whatever private opinion you may express, if you vote for

*Samuel Wells*, your *vote* will endorse that measure. It matters little how you talk at home, on your farms, in your work-shops, or in your counting-rooms. Not many, at most, will hear you there. But when you speak at the ballot-box, the nation—the world—is listening. As you love your country, let your *vote* speak for Freedom!

Would you have the Missouri Compromise restored? Do you wish to redeem this nation from its bondage to the Slave Power? Do you desire to save our own State from the shame of being the first in all the North to repudiate its professions, to trample its own resolutions in the dust, and offer its craven homage to a weak and corrupt national administration, by which we have been insulted and betrayed? If so, let us put the name of ANSON P. MORRILL upon our ballots, and thousands in other States and in other lands will mingle their voices with ours as the story of our victory speeds its way upon the wires!

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#### POSTSCRIPT.

#### REMOVAL OF GOV. REEDER!!

While the preceding pages are in press, the telegraph announces that President Pierce has removed Gov. Reeder, of Kansas, and appointed in his place JOHN L. DAWSON, of Pennsylvania, who was a member of the last Congress, *and voted for the Nebraska Bill!* The Kansas Legislature, true to the Atchison mobocrats who elected the members, enacted the Missouri code of laws, *slavery and all*. And because Gov. Reeder vetoed all their acts, refusing to recognize their authority, Franklin Pierce removes him from office, and puts a supple tool of the Slave Power in his place! Such is the man whom the democrats of Maine are asked to *endorse!* Such is “squatter sovereignty” in 1855!!